Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MAPUTO 00631 01 OF 02 200230Z
ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00
NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 PM-04 H-01
INR-07 L-03 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15
ACDA-07 DHA-02 /084 W
----------200245Z 095434 /12
O 191911Z MAY 77 ZFF-4
FM AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 5852
USMISSION GENEVA NIACT IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY VIENNA NIACT IMMEDIATE
INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MAPUTO 0631

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

PLEASE PASS TO SECRETARY'S PARTY

PLEASE PLASS TO VICE PRESIDENT'S PARTY FOR LAKE AND MCHENRY

REF: MAPUTO 0630

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR UN RH SF
SUBJECT: MAPUTO CONFERENCE -- FIVE POWER CONSIDERATION OF
DRAFT MAPUTO DECLARATION

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MAPUTO 00631 01 OF 02 200230Z

1. DRAFTING GROUP OF COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE REACHED INITIAL PARAGRAPH-BY-PARAGRAPH AGREEMENT ON DRAFT POLITICAL DOCUMENT ENTITLED "MAPUTO DECLARATION IN SUPPORT OF THE PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE AND NAMIBIA" LATE MAY 18. ON BASIS OF AN ANNOTATED WORKING COPY OF THE DRAFT AND IMPRESSIONS FROM CORRIDOR TALKS WITH PARTICIPANTS IN DRAFTING GROUP THE FIVE MET AFTERNOON MAY 19 TO DISCUSS OUR REACTIONS AND ALLIED RESP-

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

ONSE TO THE CONFERENCE.

2. DRAFT SHOWS EVIDENCE OF STRONG EFFORTS BY CHAIRMAN SALIM, KAMANA OF ZAMBIA, VRAALSEN OF NORWAY AND MOZAMBIQUAN REP TO CREATE A DOCUMENT DESIGNED TO ENGAGE SUPPORT OF THE US AND OTHER WESTERNERS. THEY HAVE ACHIEVED THE FOLLOWING POINTS, INTER ALIA, WHICH IMPROVE THE NEW YORK WORKING NON-PAPER:
-- ON ZIMBABWE, UK NEGOTIATION AT GENEVA IS NOTED WITH BLAME FOR FAILURE PLACED ON SMITH.
-- FORMATION OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT IS TERMED ONLY A "POSITIVE STEP" AND IS NOT LABELED SOLE AUTHENTIC LIBERATION MOVEMENT.
-- EXISTENCE OF "POSITIVE CONDITIONS FOR A NEGOTIATED SETTLE-MENT" IS ACKNOWLEDGED, THOUGH IT IS SAID TO STEM FROM DEVEL-OPMENT OF THE ARMED STRUGGLE AND EFFORTS OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY.
-- ON NAMIBIA, REFERENCES TO SWAPO AS "SOLE AND AUTHENTIC" LIBERATION MOVEMENT HAVE BEEN LIMITED TO ONE REFERENCE.
-- THERE IS NO CALL FOR MANDATORY ECONOMIC SANCTIONS CONN-ECTED WITH THE NAMIBIAN CASE. MOZAMBIQUE OPPOSED ANY REFERENCE TO SUCH SANCTIONS BECAUSE THEY WOULD IMPACT ON ITS ECONOMY FIRST.

3. ON THE NEGATIVE SIDE, CURRENT DRAFT STILL CONTAINS VAR-IOUS PROBLEMS IN TERMS OF POLICY AND CURRENT NEGOTIATING EFFORTS FOR THE FIVE:
-- UK FEARS REFERENCE TO "LIBERATION MOVEMENT" (SINGULAR) IN RHODESIA MAY COMPLICATE THEIR NEGOTIATIONS WHICH MUST INVOLVE ELEMENTS OUTSIDE THE PATRIOTIC FRONT AND NOT RECOG-
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 MAPUTO 00631 01 OF 02 200230Z

NIZED BY THE OAU. (SALIM'S ANSWER IS THAT MOVEMENT IN THIS INSTANCE IS A PLURAL EXPRESSION ALTHOUGH HE WILL NOT STATE THAT FOR THE RECORD.)
-- DRAFT RETAINS REFERENCES TO SOUTH AFRICAN "AGGRESSION" AGAINST NEIGHBORS AND THE UN (IN NAMIBIA). THIS BOTHERS BRITISH MORE THAN OTHERS.
-- DRAFT USES EXCESSIVELY EMOTIONAL LANGUAGE IN DESCRIBING ACTS OF RHODESIAN AND SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS. AGAIN, THE BRITISH ARE CONCERNED ABOUT IMPACT ON VORSTER.
-- IN ADDITION TO STRENGTHENING ADHERENCE TO PRESENT SANCTIONS AGAINST RHODESIA, DRAFT CITES "URGENT NEED" FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF ALL MEASURES UNDER ART. 41 OF THE CHARTER.
-- DRAFT RETAINS LANGUAGE CONDEMNING RHODESIAN "AGGRESSION" AGAINST BOTSWANA, ZAMBIA AND MOZAMBIQUE (TENDING TOWARD INVOCATION OF CHAPTER VII OF THE CHARTER).
-- DRAFT SPECIFICALLY DEMANDS WALVIS BAY BE LEFT PART OF NAMIBIA.
-- DRAFT DEMANDS THAT ALL STATES CEASE "ANY FORM OF DIRECT OR INDIRECT MILITARY CONSULTATION, COOPERATION OR COLLAB-

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

ORATION" WITH SOUTH AFRICA, ENDING WITH A CALL FOR SECURITY
COUNCIL IMPOSITION OF MANDATORY ARMS EMBARGO (CHAPTER VII).
-- DRAFT ATTACKS "FOREIGN ECONOMIC INTERESTS" FOR EXPLOIT-
ATION OF TERRITORIES' NATURAL RESOURCES.
-- DRAFT DOES NOT MENTION CURRENT WESTERN INITIATIVES ON
NAMIBIA, BUT CITES SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 385.
-- DRAFT ALSO SPECIFIES THAT PRIOR TO AN ELECTION IN NAMIBIA
CONDITIONS FOR A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT SHOULD BE IN PLACE
IN ACCORDANCE WITH ALL UN RESOLUTIONS.
-- DRAFT ALSO LINKS DECLARATION TO "PROGRAMME OF ACTION"
WHICH WE UNDERSTAND WILL CONTAIN MANY UNACCEPTABLE FEATURES.

4. THE ABOVE LIST COVERS MOST OF THE POINTS NOTED BY THE
FIVE IN MEETING AFTERNOON MAY 19. NOT ALL OF THEM CARRY
EQUALLY IMPORTANT IMPLICATIONS AND CERTAINLY EACH OF THE
FIVE TENDS TO EVALUATE THEM DIFFERENTLY. BROADLY SPEAKING,
HOWEVER, ALL AGREED THAT THE MOST SIGNIFICANT PROBLEMS
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 MAPUTO 00631 01 OF 02 200230Z

ATTACHED TO (A) ARTICLE 41, (B) CHAPTER VII ARMS EMBARGO
AND (C) LINKAGE WITH THE ACTION PROGRAMME. FRG, FRANCE AND
THE UK INDICATED THEY COULD NOT PERMIT ASSOCIATION WITH A
FINAL CONSENSUS IF ANY OF THESE THREE POINTS REMAINED IN THE
DECLARATION.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MAPUTO 00631 02 OF 02 200227Z
ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00
NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 PM-04 H-01
INR-07 L-03 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15
ACDA-07 DHA-02 /084 W
----------200246Z 095401 /12
O 191911Z MAY 77 ZFF-4
FM AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 5853
USMISSION GENEVA NIACT IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY VIENNA NIACT IMMEDIATE
INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 MAPUTO 0631

5. CANADA, ON THE OTHER HAND, CONSIDERED THIS DRAFT "MILK AND MOTHERHOOD" WHEN CONSIDERED AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF PREVIOUS AFRICAN UN DRAFTS AND ARGUED THAT THIS CONFERENCE, LIKE THE GA, IS NOT LEGALLY BINDING ON THE PARTICIPANTS. WE, THEREFORE, SHOULD PERMIT OURSELVES TO ASSOCIATE WITH IT IN AN EVENTUAL CONSENSUS - TO DO OTHERWISE WOULD SPOIL THE ATMOSPHERE OF THE MAPUTO CONFERENCE, PERHAPS ENGENDER MORE HOSTILE AND DESTRUCTIVE LANGUAGE AND LOSE US THE OPPORTUNITY TO GO FORWARD WITH A MODERATE MAPUTO RECORD AND AN UNPRECEDENTED SPIRIT OF COOPERATION WITH THE AFRICANS.

6 THE FRENCH REP EXPRESSED THE VIEW THAT, IF FINAL DOCUMENT CONTAINS ANY OF THE THREE KEY POINTS (ABOVE PARA 4), THE CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MAPUTO 00631 02 OF 02 200227Z

FIVE COULD NOT SIMPLY ACQUIESCE IN THE CONSENSUS OFFERING SPECIFIC EXPLANATIONS OF OBJECTIONABLE POINTS - THE WESTERN GROUP WOULD FORFEIT IN THAT EVENT THEIR CREDIBILITY IN AFRICA.

7. FRG REP SPOKE FROM HIS INSTRUCTIONS TO SAY HE IS DIRECTED TO TAKE ALL POSSIBLE MEASURES TO ENCOURAGE AND SUSTAIN THE UNITY OF THE WESTERN FIVE, BUT IF ANY OF THE KEY POINTS (PARA 4) EMERGE, THE GERMAN POSITION IS TO REFUSE TO JOIN A CONSENSUS.

8. THE FIVE AGREED IT WAS HIGHLY UNLIKELY THAT ANY OF THE KEY POINTS COULD BE FUNDAMENTALLY CURED AT THIS STAGE, ALTHOUGH THE ARGUMENT AGAINST LINKING THE DECLARATION WITH THE ACTION PROGRAMME IN TERMS OF THE GOALS OF SALIM AND THE OTHER MODERATE LEADERS MAY HAVE SOME EFFECT.

9. CANADA ALSO REPORTED THAT THE CONFERENCE LEADERSHIP MAY HAVE AGREED THAT WRITTEN RESERVATION OF POSITION WILL BE ACCEPTED ROUTINELY, IN THE STYLE OF NONALIGNED AND OTHER CONFERENCES. IF TRUE, THIS WOULD BE THE MOST NON-CONFRONTATIONAL WAY TO EXPRESS OUR VIEWS WERE WE NOT TO SUPPORT THE DECLARATION.

10. COMMENT: IT IS OUR VIEW THAT THE DRAFT DECLARATION OFFERS ONLY A FEW SERIOUS STICKING POINTS, PROVIDED THE LINKAGE BETWEEN THE DECLARATION AND THE PROGRAM OF ACTION WERE

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

BROKEN. WE WOULD, IF USG WERE ACTING ALONE, RECOMMEND PARTIC-
IPATING IN THE CONSENSUS ADOPTION OF THE MAPUTO DECLARATION
WHILE RESERVING OUR POSITION AS NEED BE ON KEY CONFLICTS
WITH OUR POLICY OR NEGOTIATING INTERESTS -- EITHER BY A BRIEF
STATEMENT TO THE CONFERENCE OR BY REGISTRATION OF RESERV-
ATIONS THROUGH MEANS ROUTINELY ESTABLISHED BY THE CONFERENCE.

11. THIS STANCE WOULD SUSTAIN THE MOEMENTUM OF RELATIONSHIPS
WITH THE AFRICANS ACHIEVED BY OUR DECISION TO COME TO MAPUTO
AND BY THE PERSONAL RAPPORT ESTABLISHED BY AMBASSADOR YOUNG.
AFRICAN LEADERS ARE AWARE OF OUR POLICY AND THE LIMITS TO
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 MAPUTO 00631 02 OF 02 200227Z

WHICH WE CAN GO AT THIS TIME -- THEY WOULD BE NEITHER
SURPRISED NOR AFFRONTED BY OUR LIMITED RESERVATIONS, ESPEC-
IALLY IF WE TALK IT OUT WITH THEM AHEAD OF TIME. OUR ACTION
IN JOINING THE CONSENSUS WOULD CONCERN VORSTER AND SMITH,
BUT SOLUTION OF THEIR PROBLEMS NO LONGER DEPENDS ON HOW THEY
FEEL ABOUT US.

12. THE PRINCIPAL DRAWBACK TO THIS COURSE OF ACTION IS THAT IT
WILL SPLIT US FROM SOME OF OUR ALLIES AT THIS CONFERENCE.
THE CANADIANS WOULD HAPPILY JOIN US. INDEED, IF WE STICK WITH
THE BRITISH, THE CANADIANS MAY BE THE SPLITTERS SINCE THEY
SUPPORT THE DECLARATION AS IT STANDS. PERSUADING THE OTHER
THREE TO SUPPORT THE DECLARATION WOULD BE MUCH MORE DIFFICULT
AND IN THE CASE OF BRITAIN AND GERMANY IT PROBABLY WOULD BE
IMPOSSIBLE. THE BRITISH, IN PARTICULAR, ASSERT THAT THEIR
ASSOCIATION WITH THE DECLARATION, NOTWITHSTANDING ITS SURPRIS-
INGLY MILD CHARACTER, COULD ENDANGER THE BIPARTISAN CONSENSUS
IN ENGLAND ON RHODESIAN POLICY. THE GERMANS ARE INFLEXIBLE
LESS BECAUSE OF THIS KIND OF DOMESTIC FEAR THAN BECAUSE THEY
ARE LOCKED INTO FAIRLY DETAILED INSTRUCTIONS WHICH DEPRIVE
THEM OF MUCH MANOEVRE.

13. IN LARGE MEASURE BECAUSE OF AFRICAN MODERATES, THIS
CONFERENCE DECLARATION IS FACING US WITH A TRADITIONAL DILEMMA
IN AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY. THIS INVOLVES THE NEED TO DECIDE
BETWEEN THE CURRENT IMPORTANCE OF A WEAK ALLY AND THE FUTURE
IMPORTANCE OF ANOTHER AREA OF THE WORLD. IN THE EARLY 1950'S
IN AN EFFORT TO SUPPORT A WEAK FRANCE, WE BECAME INVOLVED
IN VIETNAM; IN THE 1960'S TO SUPPORT A WEAK PORTUGAL WE CHOSE
THE WRONG SIDE IN ANGOLA AND MOZAMBIQUE. AT MAPUTO TODAY THE
BRITISH WEAKNESS THREATENS TO CONSTRAIN THE ADMINISTRATION'S
PROMISING NEW POLICY TOWARD SOUTHERN AFRICA.

14. WE DO NOT DENY THAT THE CHOICE IS A TOUGH ONE. OUR OWN
VIEW IS THAT PRESIDENT CARTER'S STATEMENT IN LOS ANGELES (WE
WILL TAKE TOUGH ACTION IN THE UN IF THERE IS NO MOVEMENT ON
CONFIDENTIAL

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

NAMIBIA) CHARTS A NEW PATH. THE LOGICAL IMPLICATION OF THAT STATEMENT IS THAT, WHETHER AT THIS CONFERENCE OR LATER IN THE YEAR, WE WILL HENCEFORTH REST OUR POLICY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA ON OUR INTERESTS AND CONCERNS IN THAT REGION. THE AFRICAN STATES WHOSE PATIENCE WE MUST CULTIVATE IN THE MONTHS AHEAD ARE NATURALLY SKEPTICAL OF OUR NEW INITIATIVES. YET THEY SEEM WILLING TO GIVE US TIME TO PROVE OUR GOOD INTENTIONS. AND IN DRAFTING THIS DOCUMENT THEY HAVE PROVEN THEMSELVES CAPABLE OF A DEGREE OF RESTRAINT WHICH WE DID NOT EXPECT.

15. ON BALANCE WE RELUCTANTLY CONCLUDE THAT THE INDIVIDUAL DISASSOCIATION PROPOSED REFTEL IS THE MORE PRUDENT COURSE. WHAT WILL REALLY MATTER FOR THE PEOPLE OF NAMIBIA AND RHODESIA IS NOT WHAT WE SAY HERE TOMORROW BUT WHETHER OUR CURRENT INITIATIVES IN THOSE AREAS SUCCEED. TO BREAK STEP WITH OUR ALLIES NOW COULD COMPROMISE OUR ABILITY TO BRING MAXIMUM PRESSURE TO BEAR LATER AND ADVERSELY AFFECT ALLIANCE DIPLOMACY IN OTHER AREAS.

16. PLEASE ADVISE BY FLASH CABLE OR BY TELEPHONE.
DE PREE

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: AGREEMENT DRAFT, NEGOTIATIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 19-May-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977MAPUTO00631
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770179-0755
Format: TEL
From: MAPUTO
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770539/aaaabhxs.tel
Line Count: 304
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 0addcc8f-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION AF
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 6
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 77 MAPUTO 630
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 01-Dec-2004 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2451425
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: MAPUTO CONFERENCE -- FIVE POWER CONSIDERATION OF
TAGS: PFOR, PDEV, RH, SF, MZ, US, FR, CA, GE, UN
To: STATE GENEVA
Type: TE
vdkvgwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/0addcc8f-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009